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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1921

STATEMENTS OF

DR. A. C. TRUE, Director of States Relations Service, Department of Agriculture

AND

MR. GEORGE P. HAMPTON, Managing Director of the Farmers' National Council, Washington, D. C.

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COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION.

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FARM ORGANIZATIONS.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, February 15, 1921.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m., Hon. Louis T. McFadden (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. True, we will hear you now.

Dr. True, we have been holding hearings in connection with the farm organization, what they are, and what they are doing here, and we got into it rather innocently, and the various organizations have been appearing before the committee and giving us information as to their work, how they are supported, what they are doing, and a certain conflict seems to have arisen as to the proper function of each one of these organizations and how the Department of Agriculture views that. And at the last meeting a certain letter that was sent out by Mr. Smith, of the extension service, was brought into the controversy, and the committee thought it best that you come up and tell us something about the connection of the department with these various farm organizations. In the first place, I want to ask you a few questions, or perhaps you would prefer to proceed in your own way before I propound these questions to you.

STATEMENT OF DR. A. C. TRUE, DIRECTOR OF STATES RELATIONS SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Dr. TRUE. Of course, just as your judgment seems best; but possibly the situation might be clearer if I made just a brief general statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We will listen to your statement, and perhaps you will answer some of the questions I intended to propound to you without my asking them.

Dr. TRUE. To understand the matter which your chairman has suggested it is necessary to have in mind the general organization and work of the agricultural extension service.

This work is organized under the act of Congress of May 8, 1914, commonly known as the Smith-Lever Extension Act, and related Federal and State legislation. The Smith-Lever Act provides for a broad system of popular instruction for our farming people under the head of cooperative agricultural extension work. That cooperation is primarily between the agricultural colleges in the States which receive Federal funds under the Smith-Lever Act and the Department of Agriculture, which is charged with the general administration of the act and specifically with making mutual agreements with the colleges for the conduct of this work. The act evidently contemplates a broader cooperation than that with the farming people. It is based on the system of extension work which was

already in vogue when the Smith-Lever Act was passed, especially in the Southern States.

This act provides for putting in the several counties at least one permanent agent who will deal intimately with the farming people of his county and will give them information and instruction to carry out the purposes of the act. There may also be a woman to deal with matters connected with the farm home. She is commonly known as a home demonstration agent. Under the act we now have about 2,000 counties in the 48 States organized with at least a county agricultural agent, and about 800 of those counties have a woman agent also. There are a considerable number of agents also who deal with the boys' and girls' clubs, the corn clubs, pig clubs, and so forth, who have been organized as a part of this work under this act. Now, the cooperation, as I said, was to be a broad one, and that is intended in the Smith-Lever Act by the provisions for the contributions of funds to supplement the Federal and State funds. That is found in section 3 of the act of May 8, 1914, and reads as follows:

> That no payment out of additional appropriations herein provided (which are Federal appropriations) shall be made in any year to any State until an equal sum has been appropriated for that year by the legislature of such State, or provided by State, county, college, local authority, or individual contributions from within the State for the maintenance of the cooperative agricultural extension work provided in this act.

As the work has developed in the counties, it has been found that the county agent could not do his best work by dealing simply with individuals. He has so many people to work with that that would be impracticable. And so he has worked with a large number of farm organizations, and the general policy of the department and the colleges has been to be helpful as far as possible to farm organizations of various kinds. But as the work has further developed, it has been found practically that we have to make certain distinctions in our cooperation between different classes of organizations of the farm people. As you know, there are a great many of these organizations in the United States. They may roughly be classed in three groups:

First, there are those organizations which deal with commodities, and generally those organizations have to do, in one way or another, with the marketing of these commodities. Examples of such commodity organizations would be the Dairymen's League, which has been organized in the Northeastern States; the different fruit growers' organizations in California; cotton growers' associations in the South, etc. Now, obviously, the county agricultural agent can go only a certain distance in cooperation with organizations of that sort which are very largely in the marketing field. They may advise and instruct them with regard to the principles of marketing and the methods of organization of associations for such purposes, but that is about as far as they can go.

Then we have another class of organizations which are of a more general character, but which are characterized by having certain secret features. Examples of such organizations which are familiar to you are the grange and the farmers' union, and there are other similar organizations. Now, we can cooperate with such organizations to a considerable extent, and we have done so, but there are

limits to the cooperation that can be given, because of these secret features. There are, as you know, people who have objections to secret organizations and, for one scruple or another, would not join such organizations. And I do not see how they ever can become general in their character for that reason.

Then there is a third class of organizations which are formed to promote the general agricultural interests of a community or a State, or even the Nation. They are open to all people in the farming community, and the only restriction they have, perhaps, is the payment of the necessary dues to maintain them. Examples of such organizations are what have been called county councils of agriculture, which have been established in the Southern States, and farm bureaus, which have been especially numerous in the Northern States.

Keeping that in mind, it may be well to say a little about the history of what is ordinarily known as the farm bureau. Before the passage of the Smith-Lever extension act, when the department was undertaking some extension work, it happened that there was in New York State, in a chamber of commerce at Binghamton, N. Y., a group of people who desired to do something for the benefit of agriculture in their region, and they formed in the chamber of commerce a department and called that a farm bureau. It soon happened that the farmers in that region made some objection to the activities of chambers of commerce in this regard and desired to have an organization of their own. So they formed an organization to cooperate with the department in its extension work, and the name of "farm bureau" was attached to that. In a short time that name was caught up and used by quite a number of organizations in New York and other parts of the country which developed in connection with the extension work.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after the passage of the Smith-Lever law?

Dr. TRUE. That was before the passage of the Smith-Lever law. After the passage of the Smith-Lever Act and the spread of this extension movement through the activities of the colleges cooperating with the department, the necessity for having these open organizations of farmers, to help the agricultural extension agents, became more and more apparent and so they encouraged the formation of these organizations under different names. The term "farm bureau" has been used in a strict and in a loose sense and has been attached to quite a good many organizations which were not really farm bureaus but had some of their general characteristics. Now, the war came on and when we got into it the demand for speeding up agricultural production, as you know, was very great, and the Government took a hand in that, in response to public opinion, and under that pressure the department, cooperating with the colleges, undertook on a broad scale to organize the farmers for production. And it went way beyond what would have been done in peace times in telling them what they ought to do in the way of getting together and stimulating agricultural production.

Of course, the other organizations to which I have referred, such as the grange and the farmers' union, the Cotton Growers' Association and the Grain Growers' Association, they all helped in this work, too. But the final result was that, when the war was over,

we had closely associated with the extension work in the Northern States a large number of county farm bureaus. In the South, a different form of organization prevailed. Whatever its name might be locally, there the organization was largely a small organization which was often called a council, which had on it representative men of the community and often these men were members of other organizations. The same has always been true of the farm bureaus; because, from our point of view, the farm bureau has never been considered as an exclusive organization or one to supplant other organizations. We have always had a large number of members of other organizations connected with the farm bureaus.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand you, the origin of the farm bureau was prior to the enactment of the Smith-Lever law?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, there was a scattering of this organization; but is it not a fact that the organization of the major portion of the county farm bureaus in the counties has been since the passage of the Smith-Lever Act?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; the larger number of them. You see, I spoke of the war enlarging them, but that came afterwards.

Mr. WINGO. You would not care to leave the impression they did not have any county farm bureaus in the South of the character you have described, during the war, would you?

Dr. TRUE. No; there were some of them.

Mr. WINGO. I understood you to say they had nothing but councils down there.

Dr. TRUE. I did not mean to make that exclusive.

Mr. WINGO. I did not think you did, because I know of a great many of the counties where they did have county farm bureaus during the war.

Dr. TRUE. Yes; there were such organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in most of the cases those county farm bureaus were organized to cooperate with the official agencies, were they not?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; to cooperate with the official agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. In doing extension work?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; in doing extension work.

Mr. WINGO. Would you mind, right there, Mr. Chairman, if I ask a question? Did your department inspire the organization of them, or did you absorb them after they were organized?

Dr. TRUE. Well, there were various things which happened with reference to that.

Mr. WINGO. As a general proposition, were the organizations made on the suggestion of your department, or did you find them already in existence and recognize them as a proper agency and took charge of them and developed them and increased them; which would you say is true?

Dr. TRUE. I should say in most cases they were organized originally on the suggestion of the extension forces.

Mr. WINGO. Get it out of your mind that I am antagonistic; I just want to get the facts. Now, did you find them already in existence and recognize them as agents you might utilize, and did you increase both the numbers and the strength, or were the original organizations

to a large extent made upon the inspiration and suggestion of your department?

Dr. TRUE. The latter is true. The one difficulty that I shall have in making general statements about such matters is that there is such a variety of conditions and circumstances, to take the country as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Dr. True, the county agents are Government employees, receiving Federal as well as Smith-Lever and State funds and county funds as salary, are they not?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the relation of the county agent to the Government and the agricultural colleges?

Dr. TRUE. The county agent is a cooperative employee and usually there are at least three parties to his employment, and there may be four or possibly five, in a few cases.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the United States Government, the State, the county, and what other agency?

Dr. TRUE. And the farm organization within the county that is helping to support him.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether that be farmers' union or the local county farm bureau or any other organization?

Dr. TRUE. Well, it would be ordinarily the organization which is formed especially to cooperate with the county agent.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. What is the relation of the county agent to the local farm bureau?

Dr. TRUE. The idea that underlay the county farm bureau as it related to the work of the county agent is this, that in this extension work we want to do the things which the farming people desire to have done and need to have done; and in order to get at that the extension forces have desired to sit in with the farming people in the formulation of and carrying out of the plans of the extension work. And more and more the tendency has been to put on the farming people themselves as much of responsibility for initiative and activity in this movement as possible. One large element of this work has been the carrying on of field demonstrations, and there we need the services of a considerable number of farmers who will undertake to carry on those demonstrations and will be willing to have them looked into by the rest of the farming people about them—to have meetings on their places and show or explain this demonstration work.

Mr. STRONG. Will you permit a question: Why did the department use the farm bureaus, and help to organize them, any more than it would help to organize the Grange and the Farmers' Union, for the purposes of prevailing upon the farmers to increase their production during the war? Why did they particularly get behind the Farm Bureau?

Dr. TRUE. Because the Farm Bureau, as organized, was a general organization, having no restriction connected with it as regards membership, except that which might grow out of the payment of mutual dues.

Mr. WINGO. What do you mean by restriction—restriction of occupation? Here is the point, Doctor: Lawyers can not belong to the farmers' union; I believe that is true. A lawyer is not eligible for

membership in the farmers' union but he is eligible for membership in the Farm Bureau, is he not, Mr. Silver?

Mr. SILVER. Under certain conditions.

Mr. WINGO. Is that the distinction you make?

Dr. TRUE. No; that is not what I am thinking of.

Mr. WINGO. The restriction as to membership is not the restriction you meant?

Dr. TRUE. The restriction as to membership which the ideas of the farming people have themselves, with reference to certain organizations which have secret features.

Mr. WINGO. The farmers' union, as I understand, is no longer secret, and yet you did not use it. I am not trying to argue with you; I am trying to find out the distinction you made. Was it a restriction as to membership, a restriction as to having a secret ritual, a restriction as to territory, a restriction as to activities, or what?

Dr. TRUE. This restriction as to secrecy was one thing. There was also one restriction with reference to commodity organizations—that they were engaged principally in a commercial activity.

Mr. WINGO. Take a case in point: What was the restriction that barred the farmers' union?

Dr. TRUE. In the case of the farmers' union, we were thinking of them as having this secret feature. It certainly has been our general understanding it was secret.

Mr. STRONG. What prevented the department from organizing the farmers into societies of their own, instead of taking up some other organization and pushing it along? What was the purpose of it?

Dr. TRUE. The purpose of it was to have an organization with which the extension forces could cooperate as fully as possible.

Mr. STRONG. And when you are through, you have not a Government function but a private institution?

Dr. TRUE. But our whole system is a cooperative system. And we desire to bring the people into it more and more.

Mr. STRONG. But of course you encourage one farming organization at the expense of the others.

Dr. TRUE. Well, we would if that organization was of an exclusive character; but as the things worked out, generally the members of the farm bureaus are also to a very considerable extent members of other farm organizations.

Mr. WINGO. If you will permit me, Doctor, possibly you overlooked a suggestion made a moment ago. Maybe Mr. Strong did not catch it. Possibly it is true that you also utilize these farm bureaus because, as you have suggested, you had developed them. While you had found them already in existence, yet you took that organization and developed and increased it as part of your organization. Did that enter into it?

Dr. TRUE. That did enter into it originally. But of course lately there has been a good deal of organization of farm bureaus which we have not had anything to do with, except most generally.

Mr. WINGO. That is what I was coming to later. You have given different groups of organizations; I believe you said there were five, a moment ago. You did not mention a district agent. You do have district agents, do you not?

Dr. TRUE. In a few of the Southern States.

Mr. WINGO. The reason I ask you, I thought I noticed in the paper to-day that your district agent in my State had resigned to become the district agent for the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Dr. TRUE. I do not know about that. But we have in some of the Southern States what are called district agencies, supervisory officers who supervise the work of the county agents in a number of counties.

Mr. WINGO. So you did not mention district agents awhile ago. In some cases you do have district agents in addition to the agents you have already enumerated?

Dr. TRUE. Oh, yes. I have not gone fully into the organization. Besides the county agents, there are the district agents; above them the State leaders, and then there are the extension specialists on different subject-matter lines, who work out from the agricultural college; and then the whole organization is tied up into one administration unit through the extension director, who is responsible for the administration of the work in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. You explained the relation of the county agent to the Government and agricultural colleges. What is the relation of the county agent to the farm bureau?

Dr. TRUE. Well, he is an agent who is employed, may be employed, by the farm bureau in cooperation with the college and the department to carry on extension work.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Government, through your department and the college, hire the county agent?

Dr. TRUE. The administration of the work is committed to the State college, as far as each State is concerned. The appointments are usually made in this way, that wherever there is a cooperating organization, whether it be called a farm bureau or something else, the officers of the college, particularly the State leader, or it may be the district leader, will go into the county and sit in with the officers of this cooperating organization and consult with them as to the appointment of the agent. He is not expected to present to them simply one individual as the choice of the college. There is also a general rule that prevails that the agent to be appointed shall not be a resident of the county. So that we have this situation, that the college official sitting in with the committee of the farm bureau or other organization, will present some names of people he thinks will make good county agents in that county. They discuss that and finally decide on some individual.

Mr. WINGO. You say the rule is he does not submit the name of anybody in that county?

Dr. TRUE. That is the rule.

Mr. WINGO. He may also go outside of the State, and does frequently?

Dr. TRUE. He may also go outside of the State.

Mr. WINGO. Is it not true, for illustration, in a great many instances, you bring people from Wisconsin down into my State?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; of course, that may be true. You understand this organization has got to be a big organization and some county agents make notable successes.

Mr. WINGO. Who is responsible for them? Say a man comes into my county, for illustration; he says to the county farm bureau, or whoever is employing them, "I think here is a young lady from Wis-

consin who would make you an excellent home demonstration agent." Who has suggested to him the name of the young lady from Wisconsin; does your department do it?

Dr. TRUE. Usually not. We take very little part in the appointment of the agents, except to approve what the college organization puts up to us.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does the actual hiring?

Dr. TRUE. He is actually hired by the State extension director of the college.

Mr. BRAND. Who did you say finally appoints them—the State department of agriculture?

Dr. TRUE. The State college of agriculture finally appoints them.

Mr. BRAND. They appoint them?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; they appoint the agents, subject to our approval.

Mr. BRAND. But it appoints them, though, at the suggestion of the Farm Bureau, does it not, and after conference?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; after conference with the organization in the county.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this direction given to these county agents by the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges—is that merely nominal or is that specific, to these county agents?

Dr. TRUE. We do not deal directly with the agents.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does give them their specific orders?

Dr. TRUE. They are given through the organization which varies somewhat in different States; but the extension director is the man who is responsible.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not under the direction of the county farm bureau, then?

Dr. TRUE. Of these college officials.

Mr. WINGO. You leave that, you say, to the direction of the county director?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINGO. As a matter of routine. It would only be in a very few rare instances you would fail to approve the selection of the county agent in my home county, by Dr. Knapp, say, who is the extension director in my State?

Dr. TRUE. Certainly.

Mr. WINGO. It would only be in a case called to your attention, showing it is a bad selection?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINGO. As a general proposition, you would leave the selection to Dr. Knapp, who is now the extension director in my State?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. And you would leave the general administration to him and you would have simply the power here to veto his selection if you so desired; but, as a practical working proposition, he does all the appointing?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if the farm bureau insists on certain things and issues certain instructions to the county agent, does the county agent carry out those instructions, or can he refuse to do that?

Dr. TRUE. He is under the administration of the extension director——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Of the college?

Dr. TRUE (continuing). And if he thinks that what the farm bureau wants him to do is improper for him to do he can and ought to object to doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Supposing the county farm bureau is paying part of his salary?

Dr. TRUE. That makes no difference. The county farm bureau, as we understand it, has entered into a contract with the college, and through it with the department, to employ these county agents to do what is proper for them as public officials. Now, we have a great variety of circumstances all over the country and all sorts of actual conditions with reference to the work of these people; and, as you can see, sometimes they do things which they ought not to do. But when those are brought to our attention, or to the attention of the authorities of the college, they try to correct those matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is a proper function for the county agent to engage in commercial activities?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir; it is not. And the farm bureau organization, I might say, through its national body, has declared that is not the proper function of the county agent; so that we are agreed on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact in some of the larger farm bureaus the county agent is an active agent of the bureau and that he is conducting activities of a commercial nature?

Dr. TRUE. There have been cases of that kind without doubt, but they are contrary to the principles on which we are going and to the constant instructions that are sent out from our offices and to the efforts of the college people who try to hold the thing down to its proper place.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not approve of the Government turning over funds to conduct a nonofficial commercial enterprise of that character?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir.

Mr. WINGO. I believe you stated that where matters have been brought to your attention you correct them, and that you do not undertake to give them a list here at Washington of the proper matter they should put out?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir.

Mr. WINGO. Do you undertake to tell them the character of address, the subject that they shall stress, and the position they shall take on public questions? For illustration, I will quote from a newspaper report of one of your agents: "The high freight rates are to be regarded as more or less a protective tariff and the farmer and merchant is the beneficiary in that the local market is of necessity strengthened and developed"—giving the name of the agent. You did not give him any such instructions as that, did you?

Dr. TRUE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, has the county farm bureau, as we know it to-day, grown up around the county agent, or as a result of the establishment of the county agent, in these 2,000 counties, I think you said, in the United States? In other words, has the present local county farm bureau, as we know it, been made possible because of the establishment of the county agent in those counties?

Dr. TRUE. Well, it has grown up around the county agent. There is no doubt about that. As to the possibility of forming such an organization without him, I think that might be done and it has been done in some instances. For instance, in Illinois, as I understand it, the county farm bureaus were formed originally without particular reference to the college and they have only afterwards come into the cooperative system.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the State of Illinois now accepting Smith-Lever funds for extension work, as the other States do?

Dr. TRUE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are taking that money?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; and always have.

The CHAIRMAN. If it was not for the county agent, do you think this extensive organization of farm bureaus would continue under present conditions?

Dr. TRUE. I do not see why it should not. I ought to go a step further, of course, in the development of the farm bureau. We have been discussing it so far as exclusively an extension organization, if I may use that term.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, let me ask you, in connection with what you are going to say: Is it a fact the county agents have participated in the membership campaigns in the organization of county farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. As I stated, during the war there was a good deal of that, because of the necessities of the case. But we do not want the county agents to engage actively in soliciting members, nor to have anything to do in the handling of the money that is paid in as dues. And as far as we can bring that about, we are holding them to that.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you send out instructions to them not to participate in those campaigns for securing the memberships in the local county farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir. Now, I was going to explain to you the further development of the farm bureaus. As the farm bureau has developed, particularly in certain States, there has grown up a desire on the part of the farmers forming the farm bureau to engage in activities outside of their relation to the extension work. They have done that in various ways, and that has greatly broadened the work. Now, they have done that, as I understand it, on the principle that they, as American citizens, a voluntary organization, had a right to do what the organization wanted them to do.

As an outgrowth of that broadening of the work of the farm bureaus, we have had, in comparatively recent times the formation of State federations of farm bureaus and, finally, of a national federation of State federations of farm bureaus. And the objects which these federations have in mind are in many cases quite broad. Now, we do not cooperate with the State and National organization in the same way that we do with the county organizations; that is, there is no interchange or combination of funds, as in the case of the county agents. And we do not assume in any way any responsibility for the activities of these State federations.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your department delegate any of its responsibility to any of these farm bureaus in any of the States?

Dr. TRUE. Well, not in a sense of——

The CHAIRMAN. It is all done through the extension department of the colleges?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You speak entirely through them?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; it is through them.

Mr. WINGO. Do your instructions to the county agent go through the extension director, or do you send them out direct?

Dr. TRUE. Always through the director.

Mr. WINGO. Do you furnish him with those instructions in the first instance?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; we furnish him with those we issue; but he issues them, besides that, himself.

Mr. WINGO. Have you a copy of the instructions that were issued through the director of my State to the county agent?

Dr. TRUE. I do not think I have that copy myself.

Mr. WINGO. Is it a very voluminous document, or is it a small one?

Dr. TRUE. I do not know that there is any single document.

Mr. WINGO. The point I am trying to get at is: Do you send out a general set of instructions to be handed out by the director, or do you let the director handle that?

Dr. TRUE. Oh, in general terms, we let the director manage them.

Mr. WINGO. You just send your general instructions to the director and tell him the general line of instructions to the county agent, and then he writes and sends out documents which he originates and either has printed or writes by way of a letter to the county agent?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, that is the plan. Then a great deal of their understanding with the college officers is brought about through personal conference, either by the individual officers or getting them together in a group or nationally to discuss what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with the organization of the county farm bureaus, I judge from what you have said the department cooperated in the organization of those local county farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; to begin with.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on the question of the State federations and the national federation: What part did the Department of Agriculture take in the formation of those?

Dr. TRUE. We have had no definite part in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you taken any part?

Dr. TRUE. Why, only to this extent, that as far as they desired we gave them information and advice about the different things. But their organization is wholly on their own initiative.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Department of Agriculture is not cooperating with the American Federation of Farm Bureaus in any manner whatsoever?

Dr. TRUE. No; not in the sense that we are with the local county farm bureau. We are, however, cooperating with them in this sense, that because of their large interests in the extension work, they permit us to sit in with them when they are in council and they get from us advice and information with regard to the conduct of that work. They also have members of the Department of Agriculture on their committees which are formed for special purposes.

For instance, they have—the national organization has—a committee on marketing of grain. Now, the Chief of the Bureau of Markets

sits in with that committee by permission of the Secretary of Agriculture; but it is with the definite understanding that he shall assume no responsibility for their action. He is there to give them information which the Bureau of Markets may have with reference to such matters, and that is as far as he can go. And the same is true of myself in dealing with the national organization on matters of extension work.

The CHAIRMAN. You regard the work of the American Federation of Farm Bureaus as a public work?

Dr. TRUE. It is not public in the sense of its being an official work.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you regard it the same as the American Federation of Labor and the United States Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. TRUE. Well, in a way, that is true; because, as I understand it, the farm bureaus desire to serve in a general capacity with reference to the promotion of the agricultural interests.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say to you right here, Doctor, that I think it has been stated before this committee or the committee has been lead to believe that the American Federation of Farm Bureaus occupied the same position to the farmers that the American Federation of Labor did to labor and that the United States Chamber of Commerce did to the business men. Now, in that connection, does your department have men sitting in on the boards in these other organizations—the American Federation of Labor, for instance?

Dr. TRUE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And the United States Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir; I do not think we do. But if they formed certain committees and asked the Secretary of Agriculture to consult with them, I doubt whether he would refuse to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, in connection with these other farm organizations, the grange and the farmers' union and the Society of Equity, do you have men sitting in on their boards from the Department of Agriculture?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir; so far as I know we never have been invited to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is purely upon invitation from the American Federation of Farm Bureaus your men are called into their conferences and sit in on their boards?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

Mr. STRONG. Let me ask you this question, please: Now, that the war is over, are you still assisting to organize these farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir. We do not need to do that any longer. They have their own organization to carry on the work.

Mr. WINGO. Do you think it advisable to have a county farm organization of some kind, whether you call it a county farm bureau or whatever you call it, to cooperate with your county agent?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir; I think it is indispensable.

Mr. WINGO. Do you think it is indispensable that there should be a State and a district head over that organization? In your organization, taking the State, why it is the director of the extension forces?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINGO. Have you at any time requested Congress to give you additional appropriations or to authorize an additional organization,

so as to meet that public necessity of having a county organization that would be responsible solely to your department?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir.

Mr. WINGO. The idea I am trying to get in my mind is not antagonistic; I just want to feel my way and get the benefit of your idea, whether or not there is a public necessity that would justify an appropriation out of the Public Treasury to maintain organizations of that kind, or should it be left to the initiative and control of private organizations?

Dr. TRUE. My general sentiment with reference to that is that that should be left to the people themselves. We do not want this extension system to be a bureaucratic and overhead system.

Mr. WINGO. You do not want to get your organizations too heavy; is that the idea?

Dr. TRUE. Yes. We want to carry out what the farming people themselves want, and it is up to them to determine what they are going to do about it.

Mr. WINGO. Has it occurred to you that possibly, by singling out this farm bureau or county farm bureau and having your agent recognized as a part of it, that other organizations might feel like you were giving governmental aid, whether it be financial aid or moral aid, that would be antagonistic to them, and lead the people to believe that the department did not regard other organizations as being the proper agency for self-help of the farmer? Had that occurred to you, Doctor?

Dr. TRUE. That idea has been suggested, of course.

Mr. WINGO. What answer is there to that suggestion and that danger?

Dr. TRUE. The answer is that where the matter is properly carried on the organizations that are working in conference with the county agent are regarded by the other organizations as helpful to them rather than standing in their way.

Mr. WINGO. Take, for illustration, a county agent up here in Pennsylvania, where the State grange is very strong and for years has been recognized as the farmers' organization, and in that county they have a very live and active grange that is ready and has been willing to cooperate with your agent. What necessity is there in that county for you to aid in the organization of a separate and distinct private farm organization?

Dr. TRUE. Well, because I think there are quite a good many people in Pennsylvania counties that would not join the grange.

Mr. WINGO. Would not join the grange?

Dr. TRUE. No; would not join the grange. Therefore, we think it is better to have this general wide-open organization and to have the members of the grange come into that.

Mr. WINGO. Is it with your approval or your suggestion, in organizing county farm bureaus, to organize them out of lawyers and bankers and merchants?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir. We want them to be composed of people who are identified with the agricultural interests.

Mr. WINGO. There is the point. I can understand how a banker and a lawyer and a merchant, all of them, would own farms and be directly interested in them; yet that would be only incidental to their main business activity.

Dr. TRUE. That might be. Now, that is up to the people of the county to decide.

Mr. WINGO. That is up to them to determine in each instance?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, I can understand a bank cashier might be recognized as one of the ablest farmers of the county and his services might be very valuable. I am not criticizing that; I just wanted to know whether, with your approval or disapproval, it is being done.

Mr. STRONG. Where the counties are organized largely by the Grange or the Farmers' Union, does not the fact that you conduct your activities through the farm bureaus practically force upon the farmers the maintenance of a double organization in order to get the benefits of your department; that is, the members of the union and the grange have to join the farm bureau in order to get the benefits?

Dr. TRUE. No; because the understanding is that the county agent shall work in the interests of all the people of his county. Some of them might not be members of his farm bureau, for one reason or another, and it is just as much his duty to help those people outside of the farm bureau as it is to help those in the farm bureau.

Mr. STEVENSON. The bureau, as I understand it, is simply an instrument for the more efficient activity of the agent?

Dr. TRUE. That is, from the extension viewpoint; yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. And for the benefit of agriculture generally in the county?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENSON. It is not confined in its benefits to members of the organization?

Dr. TRUE. Oh, certainly not; we are opposed to that.

Mr. STEVENSON. They are the ones that assume the burdens and responsibility of seeing that it gets along?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENSON. But everybody gets the benefit of it?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir. I want to give an illustration of how this thing works out, and in New York State, where this farm bureau idea originated and where it has been quite fully developed, we have farm bureaus organized in all the agricultural counties except one, which is a mountain county. Now, in that State the grange is very strong. My recollection is it has something like 130,000 members. They also have a dairyman's league, which is a very strong organization, and there are fruit growers' organizations. Now, those people are getting on all right and have cordial relations with each other and the thing has been so managed all around that so far as I know everbody is happy with that arrangement.

Mr. WINGO. Here is the point that is worrying me. I am thinking about the benefits coming to the farmer; I want to get him interested in the work your department is doing. Now, it has been suggested to me you might go, through your agent, into a county where they had, say, a farmers' union organization and that organization composed of the best farmers in the county—I mean the actual farmers who reside on their land. They think they have been doing a great work; they have been helping your agent, and backing him up in every way, carrying out every suggestion he made, and yet he comes along and organizes a county farm bureau and they naturally

feel like, "Well, they are going to kick us out." The farmers of the county will say, "Well, something must be wrong with our organization; they are not going to cooperate with us any longer; they are organizing a separate organization with the power and prestige of the Federal Government in back of it." And might not that soon produce friction that would prevent getting the results that ordinarily would flow from the county agent's activities?

Dr. TRUE. It does in some cases, but that is largely a matter of personality and not of principle.

Mr. WINGO. But in the last analysis the farmer is "personality," isn't he, and you have to recognize his personality?

Dr. TRUE. It is human nature, of course.

Mr. WINGO. You can not blame him from being prompted and moved by the same suspicions and prejudices you and I would be; you can not deal with him as a standardized machine; you have to recognize him as he is.

Dr. TRUE. Oh, yes.

Mr. WINGO. And when you try to establish standards for the farmer and say he must fit in with one particular crop and one particular organization he resents that, does he not, from your experience?

Dr. TRUE. He does if you put it in that way.

Mr. WINGO. He does not receive any suggestions from lawyers and business men—it does not matter how sincere they may be. Hasn't he always resented suggestions from some one who is not really interested in farming?

Dr. TRUE. Certainly, and he ought to.

Mr. WINGO. And haven't we recognized that in dealing with him to avoid in any kind of activity the suggestion of driving the farmer to the county agent and backing him up and taking his advice and thereby driving him away from him and making him view the county agent in his county with suspicion? Is not that a dangerous thing, and does not that danger actually confront you in some counties?

Dr. TRUE. It certainly would be, and there are cases where that has been true—that it does not work out right. But that will always happen in a big country like ours, always, in anything you undertake.

Mr. WINGO. What is going to happen where it does not work out all right? The natural sequence will be where the Federal Government gets in behind any county organization it is going to destroy the influence and numerical strength of all other farm organizations, and those who feel like they have beeen crowded out are not going to feel very cordial? Now, doesn't that alarm you and prevent you from getting efficient results from your county agents?

Dr. TRUE. Where we have such things as I just reported to you in New York State, I do not feel that needs to be the result. I rather feel by this combination of special and general organizations the farming people will be more and more thoroughly organized to work together, and that is the view, of course, of many of these people that work in these other organizations.

Mr. WINGO. Do you think it is possible to have a standard organization that will fit in with the entire agricultural activities in the Nation? For illustration, do you think that the farm organization that would suit the big cotton planters of eastern Arkansas would

suit the small farmers up in Judge Tillman's district in western Arkansas?

Dr. TRUE. Not if it is an inflexible organization with rigid rules and regulations. But I do not see why the organization of a county in Arkansas where there are small farmers could not join forces with the organization down in the bottom lands where the farmers are large farmers.

Mr. WINGO. Here is the principle: The big plantation over in eastern Arkansas is owned by a man who is living in town in the great majority of instances; he is cultivating his plantation with niggers and mules. And up in northwestern Arkansas you will have the small farm where naturally the man is living on it and he will be cultivating that with himself and children. And haven't they a different social problem, a different financial problem, and a different agricultural problem, and can you fit the same organization to both of them?

Dr. TRUE. I can not see any reason why you could not.

Mr. WINGO. Haven't you as much necessity for a different farm organization as some of us believe you have necessity for different religious organizations?

Dr. TRUE. You understand, I am not advocating and never expect to see a single organization that will fill the whole field——

Mr. BRAND. Won't this organization drive out all the balance of them, though?

Dr. TRUE (continuing). Because on the coming in of this new movement it brought about this large general organization which has stimulated the organization of smaller bodies for special purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, in that connection, I understand it is the desire of the department to work through the organization that is most effective, that gets nearer to the farmers. Am I correct about that?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; that is the general idea.

Mr. WINGO. Doctor, if you do that, I shall not object.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, I was wondering—take, for instance, the State of New York, where there are probably 50,000 members of the American Farm Bureau Federation of Farm Bureaus and probably 150,000 members of the grange—which one of those instruments would you use in New York State to work through?

Dr. TRUE. It works out in this way, of course, that in that farm bureau organization there are a large number of members of the grange; there are also a large number of members of such organizations as the Dairyman's League. That being true, naturally that farm bureau organization is going to help the grange, and it is going to help the Dairyman's League.

The CHAIRMAN. You take that as the best approach, then, to the farmers in the situation I have enumerated?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; I think that combination——

Mr. STRONG. Is there any instance where your county farm agents work through the other farm organizations like the Grange and the Farmers' Unions without organizing your county farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. That has been true, especially through the southern territory where the farm bureaus have only recently gotten in.

Mr. STRONG. I do not know anything about that, but in my district I know there are one or two counties very strongly organized by the Grange and several very strongly organized by the Farmers' Union.

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

Mr. STRONG. Yet they went in there and organized the farm bureaus, and the county agents work through the farm bureaus rather than the other farm organizations.

Dr. TRUE. Well, they work——

Mr. STRONG. I just wondered if there were any places where they work through the existing farm organizations without organizing the bureaus.

Dr. TRUE. That has been done; that is, within a limited extent. But they have found it difficult to link it up, you see, as closely with those special organizations. That is the problem there.

Mr. STRONG. Isn't it a fact it has been the custom, regardless of the organization the farmers had already existing in the counties, to go in and organize farm bureaus for the county agents to work through? Has not that been the custom?

Dr. TRUE. That was done in the Southern States particularly.

Mr. STRONG. Do you think that is entirely fair, for the Government to interfere in the existing organizations of the farmers that way?

Dr. TRUE. They were organized, as I explained to you, largely on the war necessity. And then they have developed——

Mr. STRONG. Why could they not have worked just as well through the Farmers' Unions or the Grange as a war necessity, as they could through a new association?

Dr. TRUE. We worked with them, but we had to have a broader organization than that.

Mr. STRONG. Why did you have to have it? Did you find any cases where they were protesting against working through their existing organizations?

Dr. TRUE. You must understand we are working with a large number of organizations; but when it comes to working on this plan of extension work, we want organizations that are, as far as possible, representative of the different elements in the county.

Mr. STRONG. I am bringing out this line of questions because I have had farmers protest to me against the Government, against Congress, making appropriations through its departments to build up a new farmers' organization in opposition to the one they themselves have built up, and I just wondered if there was any place where you did cooperate with existing organizations.

Dr. TRUE. There is another element in that which may be of interest to you and that is as this farm bureau movement has progressed, the States have more and more recognized that type of organization as one with which they could closely cooperate. So that we have now quite a number of States that have laws which either direct or authorize the expenditure of the State funds, county funds, which are appropriated for extension work, through an organization which must have the characteristics of the farm bureau.

Mr. STRONG. Is not that because it is generally recognized that the Government works only through the farm bureaus?

Dr. TRUE. I do not think that is true.

Mr. STEVENSON. The Dairyman's Association, for instance, covers only one type of agricultural activity?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENSON. And the apple growers covers a different type, and there are a great many of those associations that cover merely a particular type of agricultural activity?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Now, as I understand it, the Agricultural Department and extension bureaus desire an organization that covers the entire field; is that your idea about it?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENSON. That is the idea I have gotten from its work in South Carolina.

Mr. WINGO. I was under the impression in handling the agriculture of the United States we had proceeded on this theory, up to the war, that we would leave it to the individual farmers in their different communities to decide what organization they shall have. If the chief activity of one community is dairying, they organize a dairyman's association; if the chief activity of one community in Arkansas is apple growing, they have a fruit growers' association which covers that form of activity; if it is in the cotton belt in Mississippi or eastern Arkansas, they will have the cotton association. And my understanding of it has been that we would leave to the farmers of each community, to the population of the community, to determine for themselves the form of organization they should have, governed by the necessities of their own business; that they know better than anybody else what they need, and we should leave it to them to decide for themselves what kind of local farm organization is best, and then the Federal Government, after we have left them free to do that, undertakes through the Department of Agriculture, and we undertake under the Smith-Lever Act, to give aid in the organization of the character of the organization provided by that community, and the director of the extension forces then will keep in touch with each and every one of those different local private farm organizations through the county agents—and in a county where cotton is the chief industry, they will look after and make suggestions to the farmer from the cotton standpoint; in a fruit county, they will look particularly after the development of the fruit industry—and then the Government furnishes the great communicating organization through the Department of Agriculture, and that it should undertake to cooperate on equal terms with each and every private organization and not to single out any one and build it up in one locality to the exclusion of any other.

Mr. STRONG. But we do not do that: we go out and organize another organization, to wit, the Farm Bureaus.

Mr. WINGO. I say I thought that was the general broad policy that we had left to each one of the farm communities. That is my desire. I am not criticising the farm bureau. If they find a county where they want a farm bureau organization, that is their business; but if they say the chief industry in this community is dairying and they want a dairy association, and if they say we think our interests in Pennsylvnia can be best served by a secret organization and they want the grange, they have a right to do it, and it is not the business

of the Federal Government to tell them it can not countenance a secret society if they want it. If they are engaged in any practices inimical to the public good, then you might say, "We will refrain from cooperating with them in a general way." But the objection that has been made to these county farm bureaus I do not think you have caught. It is not that we object to any particular form of organization, but a number of these other organizations say, "We do not want to be handicapped and driven out of business by the Federal Government putting its stamp of approval upon one particular private organization of the farmers and to say, 'You are the chosen people and you shall inherit the earth, to wit, Government aid.'" That is the objection that has come to this committee and has come to them with great force. Take my friend from Kansas. I think he belongs to and is a very prominent member of the farm bureau of his State, but he recognizes there are other activities there, the farmers' union. [Laughter.]

Mr. STRONG. I am a member of the farm bureau because I thought I was helping the county agent proposition. I find now I am a member of an organization with headquarters here in Washington that is asking me to support legislation which I do not believe is in the farmers' interest and which criticizes me when I do not do so.

Mr. WINGO. I mention that to be complimentary to you and to use you as a striking example of the wisdom of the old policy.

Mr. STEVENSON. I would like to direct the attention of my friend from Arkansas, as well as that of Dr. True, to one situation: He says where cotton is the principal activity they shall have a cotton association. That is exactly what the State of South Carolina established Clemson Agricultural College for 32 years ago and has been preaching ever since, to get the farmers away from one monocycle and to get them away from a particular product and to educate them to engage in diversified agriculture. That has been our bane in South Carolina and elsewhere in the cotton belt. And I do not hesitate to say the Federal farm bureau is doing a wonderful work in that direction of educating our people in diversified farming and getting them away from the monorail proposition.

Mr. WINGO. I am in favor of diversified farming, but I do not think it is ever possible to wean the Eskimo from his frozen blubber or to teach the farmer of Florida fur overcoats are necessary for their physical comfort.

Mr. STEVENSON. You will not be able to wean the cotton farmer away from his cotton crop, either, by having him confine his business to one crop.

Mr. WINGO. You can not grow lemons on my black land in my county; that is fit for cotton and nothing else.

Mr. BRAND. In the meantime, when am I going to get a hearing on my bill? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, it has been stated here before the committee—and I think you thoroughly concur in it—that the farm bureau is largely an educational concern?

Dr. TRUE. It has been that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. From where does it derive its scientific information?

Dr. TRUE. Well, it gets that largely from the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the county farm bureau get information direct from the Department of Agriculture?

Dr. TRUE. Through the college of agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. And it gets it also through the extension department of the State colleges?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. While we have discussed to some extent the connection of the department with the American Farm Bureau Federation, I think I understood you to say the Government is not assisting the American Farm Bureau Federation at the present time?

Dr. TRUE. No, sir; we are not cooperating with them in the sense of uniting with them in any special efforts.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of the representation on the various committees: Is the Director of the States Relations Service a member of the executive committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation?

Dr. TRUE. Only in the sense he is permitted to sit in with that committee in an advisory capacity. He has no vote and no responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they list him as one of the members of that committee—the American Farm Bureau Federation—so that he is to be known as a member of that board?

Dr. TRUE. He is not a member in the same sense the farmers are, and it is only with the distinct understanding with the Secretary of Agriculture, that he will not assume any responsibility, that he is there.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is there with the approval and understanding of the Secretary?

Dr. TRUE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And is that at the Secretary's suggestion, or was that the suggestion of the American Farm Bureau Federation?

Dr. TRUE. It was the suggestion from the American Farm Bureau Federation. When they adopted their constitution they put that in; we had nothing to do with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not consider it one of the functions under the Smith-Lever law to build up an organization for the farmers similar to that built up by the labor organizations and the business men, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and the United States Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. TRUE. No; I do not think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that practically the effect of the way it works out under the present plan of cooperation? It has been stated here in the committee or at least the committee have been led to believe that the American Farm Bureau Federation was to the farmers exactly what the American Federation of Labor was to labor and that the United States Chamber of Commerce was to the business man. Now, as I understand you, the department has been cooperating with the American Farm Bureau Federation, and that is the concern that you look upon as the best to work through to the farmers?

Dr. TRUE. Well, I do not understand that we are in any way responsible for what the American Farm Bureau Federation is doing. They make their own plans. It is an institution that has been built up very recently, and I know so little about the American Federation of Labor and the United States Chamber of Commerce that I do

not think I am qualified to compare them in any definite way with the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been stated before the committee or the committee as I stated has been led to believe by the representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation that that was their purpose.

Dr. TRUE. It is their purpose to deal with the problems of agriculture in a general way; there is no doubt about that, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you think your department has kept strictly within the law in the administration of the Smith-Lever Act, do you?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In its connection with farm bureaus and the county agents?

Dr. TRUE. That is my understanding. Now, I might say with reference to that, Congress has considered this matter to a certain extent, and in the appropriation act for the Department of Agriculture a year ago a clause was inserted which I have here, which may be of interest to you in this connection, reading as follows:

> That hereafter (which makes it permanent legislation) in carrying on the activities of the Department of Agriculture, involving cooperation with State, county, and municipal agencies, associations of farmers, individual farmers, universities, colleges, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, or other local organizations or associations of business men, business organizations, and individuals within the State, Territory, District, or insular possession in which such activities are to be carried on, moneys contributed from such outside sources, except in the case of the authorized activities of the Forest Service, shall be paid only through the Secretary of Agriculture or through State, county, or municipal agencies, or local farm bureaus or like organizations cooperating for the purpose with the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. BRAND. Right there: Is there any local agency cooperating with the Department of Agriculture anywhere in the United States, except the farm bureau?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; there are organizations which are not known as farm bureaus, not so designated; for instance, these county councils of agriculture.

Mr. STRONG. They are the same thing, are they not, Doctor?

Dr. TRUE. They have the same general purpose; yes.

Mr. BRAND. Are you cooperating with them and they with you?

Dr. TRUE. Yes; if they have funds to help pay toward the salary of the county agents we will cooperate with them in the same way.

Mr. WINGO. How many of your county and district agents have you lost to this farm bureau by their taking them over at a larger salary; have you any idea? You have lost some of your best men, have you not, who have resigned from your extension force to become agents of this American Farm Bureau Federation?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINGO. You have lost a good many of them?

Dr. TRUE. A number of them.

Mr. BRAND. Do these county agents ever act as secretaries for the county farm bureaus at their meetings or sessions?

Dr. TRUE. Instances of that you will find undoubtedly; but we do not like that arrangement.

Mr. BRAND. That is what I want to ask, if that meets with your approval?

Dr. TRUE. No; the farm bureau should stand on its own bottom, so to speak, and the county agent should not be an officer of the farm bureau. But, you understand, with the great variety of conditions throughout the country and the closeness of touch that the farmers have with the farm bureau they often lead him, almost compel him, to do things which he ought not to do. And yet, when those matters are brought to our attention, we try to correct them.

Mr. BRAND. Are you interested in the county agent's activities to increase the membership of the farm bureau? Does that meet with your approval or is it done under your direction?

Dr. TRUE. He should not act as an active emissary of the farm bureaus to solicit memberships—he should keep out of that.

Mr. WINGO. Has your attention been called to cases where he acts as secretary of the county farm bureau and sends out their literature in franked envelopes?

Dr. TRUE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINGO. Literature sent out in his capacity of secretary of the farm bureau and not as county agent?

Dr. TRUE. Such cases have occurred, and, where they have been called to our attention, we took that up with the extension director.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, you can not be held responsible for the irresponsible acts of scattered individuals.

Dr. TRUE. It is very difficult.

Mr. WINGO. I am not trying to charge you with that, Doctor.

The CHAIRMAN. No harm could result from drawing a strict line down through the actions of the county agents and the county farm bureaus, could there? For instance, in the appropriation bill, if the language were so framed that it provided none of this money should be used for the purpose of supporting the county farm bureaus, would there be any harm from such a proposition—from the operation standpoint?

Dr. TRUE. I think not, if it is properly worded.

Mr. STRONG. Would not that be properly wording it, the way the chairman stated it?

Dr. TRUE. Generally.

Mr. WINGO. Here is the point we are interested in: We do not want to destroy the efficiency of the county agent by reason of the friction that might arise, even assuming that it is jealousy that is not justified; but we have to meet conditions as public servants frequently and not theories. And I do not want any activity of your department or any discrimination to cause such a friction as will weaken the cause of your county-agent system. I do not care how many farm organizations there are, but I know enough about human nature to know if Congress or an administrative bureau selects one particular farm organization and undertakes to say it will recognize it as the voice of agriculture, it will produce just about as much friction—the ladies present prevent me from using the proper word—as it would be to say we would recognize one church as having all wisdom in handling the question of the spiritual welfare of the country. You will have just the same situation. Human nature is human nature, and just as soon as you let the county farm bureaus create the impression they are part of your department and they are the selected few, it is going to cause awful resentment in the breasts of the farmers' union, the grange, and other organizations.

They may be wrong, but it is not a question of who is right and who is wrong; it is a question of weakening the Government's aid in the development of agriculture through Federal appropriations. That is the danger of the thing I am talking about.

Dr. TRUE. I am thinking along the same general line, in that we do not want to have a state of things in this country where the different farm organizations are quarreling with each other, because that would be vital to their cause, and we welcome any arrangement which will enable them to work in harmony and to pull together in the interests of agriculture.

Mr. WINGO. We do not want you to go away with the idea the committee is criticizing you for helping any farm organization, but we did want to present to you the criticism that bore in on us against your discriminating against other farm organizations. That is the point. We want you to help all of them for the support of all farmers. If the farmers of a community organize an association, we do not care what they call it; if they apply to your agents for information and want aid, we want you to give it to them, and not to say, "No; you must join some other organization."

Dr. TRUE. You must understand that is just our position—that the agent should give every farm organization the information and instruction that they have to give.

Mr. WINGO. The impression has gone out to the contrary and for that reason I have called it to your attention. I am convinced you really want to help all farm organizations, and I am not criticizing you; but take, for instance, in a county where the question of making an appropriation for county aid is determined by the quorum court, and that quorum court is made up of the justices of the peace of the county, and those justices of the peace, 90 per cent of whom are farmers, usually join the farmers' union, and they come down to the courthouse to make an appropriation. They may not say so to the presiding officer, to the county judge; they may not say so to the county agent or to the agent of the extension force there to help select a home demonstration agent, but they have said to themselves out in the courthouse yard, "They are discriminating against my organization, the farmers' union, and we will cut off their supply." And so the whole organization of that county has to suffer. Just from your viewpoint and the viewpoint of the farmers' bureau, say they are jealous, say they are unjustified, yet we have to recognize conditions as they are. And it is not sufficient to say that condition is not possible to exist, because it has existed, and I am afraid of its bad effects on the aid to agriculture. I am not objecting to your helping the farm bureau, but I insist you give no help to any one bureau which you won't give to any other farm organization that represents a group of farmers, just like you help the individual farmer if he applies for aid. I do not want the public to get the idea there is a selected organization that the Government recognizes, and if the farmers want to be in and get the benefits from the Agricultural Department they have to go and join another organization than the one of their choice. That is the thing I want to avoid, and I think every Congressman wants to avoid that.

The CHAIRMAN. Just before you leave, I want to ask you, in connection with the organization of the State federations and the na-

tional federation, have county agents and the representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture assisted in the organization of these federations?

Dr. TRUE. I do not know that they have. Of course, these people are all closely associated in various ways, but my understanding has been that the farm bureaus themselves have formed their own State federations and the national federation.

The CHAIRMAN. And in that they have not been assisted by the county agents or the representatives of the colleges or the Department of Agriculture, to your knowledge?

Dr. TRUE. Not in any definite way, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Doctor. We are very much obliged to you.

Dr. TRUE. I am very glad to have been before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hampton is here, and he is going to furnish us with the information Mr. Marsh stated he would furnish at the previous meeting. Mr. Hampton, we will hear you very briefly.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE P. HAMPTON, WASHINGTON, D. C., MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE FARMERS' NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Mr. HAMPTON. I am managing director of the Farmers' National Council, general manager of the All-American Cooperative Commission, Washington representative of a number of farm organizations, and also Washington correspondent of a number of farm papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hampton, when Mr. Marsh was before the committee the other day certain questions were asked him regarding your organization—what it was, why it was here, who it was representing, and how you were financially supported. I understood from Mr. Marsh you would present those facts to us.

Mr. STRONG. Mr. Chairman, before he proceeds, he says he is the representative of several farm organizations and the correspondent for several farm papers, and I suggest he put in the record, if he has no objection, the names of the organizations and the names of the papers in order that we may have that information before us. You may put it in later when the minutes are submitted to you; you need not do it now.

Mr. HAMPTON. I can do that from memory. It will just take a minute and that will settle it. All or nearly all the farm organizations I represent are affiliated with the Farmers' National Council, but all these organizations have a number of things to attend to down here at Washington, either with Congress or the various bureaus and departments of the Federal Government, in which they need representation to cover other features besides those included in the program of the Farmers' National Council.

Foremost amongst these organizations is the Washington State Grange, of which I have been the Washington legislative agent for over 12 years here at Washington. Other of these organizations are the National Gleaner Federation, with its main organization in the State of Michigan; a number of the American Societies of Equity; the North Carolina Farmers' Union and several dairy organizations.

Among the farm papers are what are known as the Pierce Farm Weeklies; the Iowa Homestead; the Stockman and Farmer of Kansas, Kansas City, Mo., circulating mainly in Kansas and in the State of Missouri; the Wisconsin Farmer; the Gleaner Forum, the national organ of the National Gleaner Federation; the Agricultural Grange News, offifficial organ of the Washington State Grange; and Farm Stock and Home, one of the leading farm papers of the Northwest, published at Minneapolis, Minn.

Now, if I understand, what you want from me is a statement of the organizations represented in the Farmers' National Council, some information in regard to its program and also its source of income.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. And some of the others who have testified already before the committee have told us what their annual income was, from what source it was received, and how it was expended—for what purposes.

Mr. HAMPTON. I might as well make a preliminary introductory statement. The Farmers' National Council is the outgrowth of systematic study and work to secure the farmers' rights here in Washington. The organization out of which it grew was composed of what was known as the Conference of Progressive State Granges and sometimes referred to in grange circles as the insurgent State granges. I am a member of the grange and so is Mr. Marsh.

A good many years ago, in an honorary capacity—that is, without pay—I represented the National Grange down here, along with the legislative committee, looking after legislation for the entire organization; but bitter differences of opinion as to policies grew up between the national offices and some of the State Granges. These State Granges decided on independent action, and I gave my support to their movement. At my suggestion they opened up to make a drive to secure the legislation which the granges in the various States and the National Grange itself had indorsed. Among the things taken up was the parcel post. These six State granges formed a nucleus and organized a national committee and appealed to the farmers' union and others to affiliate. Then we organized a central committee composed of representatives of these granges and the National Farmers' Union, of which Mr. Davis, of Arkansas, the present secretary-treasurer of the farmers' union; a member of the union from Tennessee, whose name I have forgotten but whom Mr. Barrett can name; a granger who was in the United States Senate at that time, Senator Gardner, of Maine; and Mr. Creasy, at that time State master of Pennsylvania Grange and the predecessor of Mr. McSparran here, composed the membership of this joint committee, with President Barrett, of the farmers' union, as a fifth member of the committee if the representatives of these granges and the Union did not agree, and with myself in charge as executive secretary. Then when we found that the marshaling of additional strength was necessary, acting under the instructions of our committee, we called a general parcel-post conference and at that conference was formed an organization to supplement the farmers' work, known as the Postal Express Federation, with which representative business men. who had the same idea in mind, affiliated. The Farmers' National Committee on Postal Reform and this Postal Express Federation were the two wings of the parcel-post campaign, although they had

the same management, harmonizing that work perfectly. I am making this explanation to indicate the policy and plan that has been steadily followed out in all further developments of our activities down here in Washington.

When the war came on and we were all under the necessity of aiding in consolidating the farm forces behind the Government in the prosecution of the war, we made strenuous efforts to bring all the farm organizations into a harmonius understanding and definite cooperation, to the one big end that we all, as Americans, had in view.

As evidence developed as to what the after-the-war problems would be, many farmers saw greater necessity for cooperation and a general conference, to consider the great reconstruction problems as they affected the farmers' interests, open to all farm organizations, was called, a tentative program drafted, based on the actions of the various organizations, and a temporary committee called here to Washington to consider the different proposals and prepare a more complete tentative draft. That tentative draft was put in printed form and sent to all the organizations with the view that two months later they should assemble here in Washington in delegate capacity and adopt a joint reconstruction program.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the inception of the Farmers' National Council?

Mr. HAMPTON. That was the inception of the Farmers' National Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Briefly, Mr. Hampton, can you tell us from what source you derive your income?

Mr. HAMPTON. I am glad to do that. Heretofore, up to this last year, the organization was entirely on a voluntary contribution basis. The general budget was mapped out, and the amount of the budget to do the minimum of effective work was stated, and appeals for funds were made. Here is a statement of our income and expenditures during 1920. I understand that covers what you asked for. This has been hastily prepared, because I expected to wait until I made my general report and income-tax return, etc. I only got back from the West yesterday morning, and have had a great deal of business to attend to, but I got this statement together. It is absolutely correct as to receipts. There may be some errors in classifying disbursements, but those errors will be negligible so far as percentages are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to read that statement?

Mr. HAMPTON. I am going to make the statement right here that we cover several activities in our general headquarters, but I am giving you the entire statement for all expenses in all activities, and then I separate those that belong to the Farmers' National Council. The Farmers' National Council is the National Legislative Federation of Farm Organizations and individual farmers who subscribe to its program. It is exclusively devoted to this purpose. It has no other functions. Now, I will state the income from all sources, where it is from, the purpose, and amount for the calendar year 1920:

Washington State Grange, for the Farmers' National Council, $900.84. Gleaners, also for the Farmers' National Council, $300. Michigan potato growers, also for the Farmers' National Council, $200. Small subscriptions from individual farmers, etc., $509. Ed. C. Laseter, for packer control, transportation, and credit sections

of the Farmers' National Council program, $5,300. William Kent, for the Farmers' National Council, $2,500. All-American Cooperative Commission, for cooperative commission work of the general manager's office, $1,917.95. Plum Plan League, for part payment of triple alliance meetings in support of two years' extension of Government operation of railroads, $1,933. Special news service for farm papers, $1,682.70. Incidental special service for farm papers—that is an error; I mean for farm organizations—at cost. $50.29. Mrs. Mary Fels and other single taxers, for single-tax educational work, conducted by myself as legislative agent of the Washington State Grange and not as part of the Farmers' National Council educational work, $500. Of the $500, Mrs. Mary Fels contributed $300, and other single taxers, $200.

The total 1920 receipts were $15,793.78. Total expenditures, $19,430.07. Advanced by myself to balance disbursements, $3,636.29.

Here are the disbursements. Salaries: George P. Hampton, $6,000; C. B. Marsh, $3,600; secretary to Mr. Hampton, $1,739; secretary to Mr. Marsh, $1,625; other office help, $767.35. Total for salaries and wages $13,731.35.

Office rent, $725; new office equipment, $285; printing and office stationery, $1,345; general office supplies, $421; telephone and telegraph, $191.52; traveling, $1,180; newspaper-clipping service, $40.70; newspaper and magazine subscriptions, $27.75; postage, $587.55; stenographic reports, $132.35. These stenographic reports were advance transcripts of hearings we were interested in. Attorney, $100; repairs (typewriters, etc.), $9; drayage, $23; sundries (including all expenses paid out of petty cash), $1,030.85. That makes a total of expenditures of $19,430.07.

Summarizing and classifying receipts, the total receipts for all purposes were $15,793.78, distributed as follows: From the All-American Cooperative Commission for work of commission, $1,917.95; Plumb Plan League, for part payment of expenses of triple alliance meetings in support of two-year extension of Government control of railroads, held in Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and North Carolina, $1,933; special news service for farm papers, $1,682.70; incidental special service for organizations and individuals, $50.29: Mrs. Mary Fels and other single taxers, $500. That makes a total of $6,583.93 to be deducted from the grand total, leaving a total of receipts for the Farmers National Council of $9,209.84.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Hampton is as follows:)

Financial statement for 1920 of Farmers' National headquarters, Washington, D. C., conducted by George P. Hampton.

INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES.

Washington State Grange, for Farmers' National Council	$900.84
Gleaners, for Farmers' National Council	300.00
Michigan Potato Growers' Exchange, for Farmers' National Council	200.00
Small subscriptions from individuals, for Farmers' National Council	509.00
Ed C. Lasater, for packer control, transportation and credit sections of Farmers' National Council program	5,300.00
William Kent, for Farmers' National Council	2,500.00
All American Cooperative Commission, for cooperative commission work of the general manager's office	1,917.95

Plumb Plan League, for part payment of triple alliance meetings in support of two years' extension of Government operation of railroads	$1,933.00
Special news service, for farm papers	1,682.70
Incidental special service for farm papers, at cost	50.29
Mrs. Mary Fels and other single taxers, for single-tax educational work conducted by G. P. Hampton as legislative agent of the Washington State Grange and not as part of the Farmers' National Council educational work	500.00
Total 1920 receipts	15,793.78
Advanced by G. P. Hampton to balance disbursements	3,636.29
	19,430.07

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries:	
G. P. Hampton	6,000.00
B. C. Marsh	3,600.00
Secretary to Mr. Hampton	1,739.00
Secretary to Mr. Marsh	1,625.00
Other office help	767.35
	13,731.35
Office rent	725.00
New office equipment	285.00
Printing and office stationery	1,345.00
General office supplies	421.00
Telephone and telegraph	191.52
Traveling	1,180.00
Newspaper-clipping service	40.70
Newspaper and magazine subscriptions	27.75
Postage	587.55
Stenographic reports	132.35
Attorney	100.00
Repairs—typewriters, etc	9.00
Drayage	23.00
Sundries (including all expenses paid out of petty cash)	1,030.85
	19,430.07

SUMMARY CLASSIFYING RECEIPTS.

Total receipts for all purposes		15,793.78
All-American Cooperative Commission, for work of commission	$1,917.95	
Plumb Plan League, for part payment of triple alliance meetings in support of two-year extension of Government control of railroads	1,933.00	
Special news service for farm papers	1,682.70	
Incidental special service for organizations and individuals	50.29	
Mrs Mary Fels and other single taxers	500.00	
		6,583.93
Total receipts for Farmers' National Council		9,209.84

The CHAIRMAN. I understand from that, Mr. Hampton, that you have no regular membership annual dues?

Mr. HAMPTON. We have now. About a year ago many reflections were cast upon the Farmers' National Council because its members did not pay dues. As a matter of fact, I had been agitating for several years past that we should be put on a much more definite financial basis than was possible on voluntary contributions of indefinite

amount. I secured all the evidence I could get of these reflections and their source, and submitted a statement to the farmers' organizations affiliated with the council, with a suggestion that they should adopt a constitution and by-laws and go on a dues-paying basis. For the State farm organizations affiliated with the Farmers' National Council which are also members of other national farm organizations, particularly the Washington State Grange and other State granges, we suggested a supplementary plan that in place of per capita dues they should pledge an amount equal to what any other organization of like membership would contribute on the per capita basis. The Washington State Grange has agreed to that, and I may say, in passing, I think you will find the amount that the Washington State Grange paid to the Farmers' National Council in 1920 is larger than the net amount they paid to the National Grange.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hampton, what is your total membership?

Mr. HAMPTON. I think at the present time it would be difficult for me to say, but at the time the reconstruction program was adopted by this delegate convention here in Washington we estimated there were 750,000 organized farmers who indorsed that program.

Now, some of those who indorsed that program never affiliated in contributing to our expenses, but they did notify us they had adopted our program, and would take our matter and would attend to all the activities needed to support the program in their jurisdictions. The Farmers' National Council has done little field work; we simply put the matter up to and call upon the organizations to do the field work.

As I have stated, a little more than a year ago I submitted recommendations to the affiliated farm organizations to go on a dues-paying basis, and on the recommendation of the board a tentative draft for a constitution and a new plan for organization and affiliation with the council was adopted. These provide for dues, and since this was adopted the North Carolina Farmers' Union has come in on a dues-paying basis, and the farm organizations now affiliated in the reorganization of the American Societies of Equity, under the new title of the United Farmers of America, are also coming in on a dues basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those annual dues?

Mr. HAMPTON. Yes. They are coming in on an annual dues basis. We put the dues at 25 cents, with the proviso that in special cases the executive board may allow temporarily a minimum of 10 cents per capita to give farm organizations which would have to increase their membership dues an opportunity to do so before being required to pay a per capita of 25 cents. That is simply a temporary modification to meet existing conditions as to dues in some of the affiliated organizations.

Mr. WINGO. You say you have the Farmers' Union of South Carolina coming in on a basis of 10 cents?

Mr. HAMPTON. Of North Carolina.

Mr. WINGO. On a basis of 10 cents per capita?

Mr. HAMPTON. Yes; on a basis of 10 cents per capita.

Mr. WINGO. They are interested, I presume, in the single-tax activities?

Mr. HAMPTON. Well, no. The single-tax activities have nothing to do with the Farmers' National Council. The council is in no way responsible—the council has nothing to do with the single-tax activities. I am a single taxer myself, you know; there is no question about that. The Washington State Grange has indorsed the single tax, and it is as their representative I conduct the single-tax activities. I am unqualifiedly in favor of the Ralston-Nolan bill, pending before Congress. Those are measures the Farmers' National Council is not connected with, except they are interested in supporting public discussion of all questions in dispute.

Mr. WINGO. I was trying to arrive at the community of interest between you and the farmers of North Carolina, whether it was on your single-tax views or not.

Mr. HAMPTON. The representatives and delegates from the Farmers' Union of North Carolina participated in the conference which drafted and adopted the farmers' reconstruction program, on which the legislative activities of the Farmers' National Council are based.

Mr. WINGO. I notice you use the word "reconstruction" several times. What do you mean by "reconstruction;" such as we had after the Civil War?

Mr. HAMPTON. No; it covers the broad legislative questions now pending before Congress and which have come to the front in a very acute form as a result of the World War. If you would like to have this program placed in the record, I have it right here.

Mr. WINGO. What particular problem has the war created for the American farmer?

Mr. HAMPTON. Here is a statement of the reconstruction program of the Farmers' National Council. It is summarized right here, if you want to put it in the record.

Mr. WINGO. No; I want to get just in a general way what particular reconstruction program the war has created for the American farmer that did not exist before. I want to get your idea on that.

Mr. HAMPTON. I would not undertake to say they were created by the war, but certainly they came to a very acute head as a result of the war. For instance, the tremendous volume of the war debt is certainly a grave problem that vitally affects the farmer's interest, and the packer-control legislation—the question of who is going to control the food supply—is a very vital question.

Mr. WINGO. That is not a reconstruction problem. You mean to reconstruct the Government or what?

Mr. HAMPTON. You can take this: I do not want to take much time in going into these different details, but here is a detailed statement of the reconstruction program of the Farmers' National Council.

Mr. WINGO. It is not a question of taking time. As a member of the committee I want to get your viewpoint of the particular reconstruction program. The question of packer control was a pressing problem before the war.

Mr. HAMPTON. It has been for 10 years.

Mr. WINGO. You would not class that as a reconstruction problem.

Mr. HAMPTON. We have included it in what is called the farmers' reconstruction program. That is one of the big planks of the program that the Farmers' National Council is organized to aid in carrying into effect.

Mr. WINGO. Your idea, then, of the word "reconstruction" is to get legislation and not to reconstruct the Government?

Mr. HAMPTON. You can use the word "legislative" in defining the reconstruction program, if you like.

Mr. WINGO. No; I would be opposed to reconstructing the legislative body.

Mr. HAMPTON. I will just give a summary of the general headings:

First, Government ownership and operation of railroads for service and not for profit.

Second, public ownership and development of natural resources for the people.

Third, Government ownership of the ships built by the people and operation thereof to encourage manufacturing and agriculture.

Fourth, adequate control of the meat-packing industry.

Fifth, paying the cost of the war by taxes on estates, incomes, excess profits, natural resources speculatively held, and a capital tax with a high exemption on all property.

Sixth, to make credit as cheap and as available to agriculture as to any other legitimate and responsible industry.

These are the six essentials of the program.

Mr. STRONG. Have you any legislation to suggest as to how that last proposition of cheap credits to agriculture can be brought about?

Mr. HAMPTON. Of course, with all due respect to the members of this committee, I am not here now to make an argument in favor of this program.

Mr. STRONG. I just asked you if you had any legislation to suggest.

Mr. HAMPTON. Yes; and I will be glad to have representatives of our committee at the proper time come before your committee and discuss those questions or do so myself.

Mr. STRONG. I just asked you the question if you have some legislation to suggest that would bring about that extension of credits.

Mr. HAMPTON. Yes; we have, and our director of legislation will be glad to come before this committee or any other committee of Congress at any time you or any Members of Congress desire and present our case, and, if necessary, I will come myself.

Mr. STRONG. We have had the matter discussed, but I was wondering if you had a legislative program to suggest.

Mr. HAMPTON. Yes; we have—most decidedly.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have here the information we were seeking from you unless you have something special there.

Mr. HAMPTON. Here are three resolutions adopted by the convention of the United Farmers of America.

The CHAIRMAN. You can put those right into the minutes.

Mr. HAMPTON. One is their declaration of affiliation with the Farmers' National Council on a per capita of 25 cents annual dues; another, affiliation with the All-American Cooperative Commission on 10 cents per capita; and the third indicates its friendly relationship to labor.

Is there anything more gentlemen?

Mr. WINGO. What did you say your salary was; I did not catch it?

Mr. HAMPTON. It is $6,000 a year, provided I get it.

Mr. WINGO. That is true of all of us.

Mr. HAMPTON. Well, I do not know, but when this organization was formed the affiliating farm organizations were all on a voluntary contribution basis, and I assumed the financial responsibility. Each year I submitted a minimum budget and stated that we could not make an effective showing with less than that amount of money. Then for the purpose of getting started I underwrote it, and I had to go down in my pocket many a time to meet the deficit and balance expenditures. I did not have to do this every year. This last year, as the statement I have presented shows, I had to go down in my own pocket. I have cut my salary a little bit more than squarely in two, so that I get less than $2,500, in round figures.

Mr. STRONG. Won't that be cumulative?

Mr. HAMPTON. Well, in a moral sense; yes; but the legal obligation never exists.

Mr. STRONG. I know, but if they get the money in the treasury you will get the money?

Mr. HAMPTON. If they get the money in the treasury I believe I will get it.

Mr. WINGO. Does that salary mean your combined salary from your single-tax activities and the National Council and all these others?

Mr. HAMPTON. It is my combined salary. When I cast in my lot with the Progressive State Granges I made the pledge I would agree with them at the beginning of any year what my full salary was to be for that year and then prorate it. I do not pyramid; I do not even take the money I get for writing articles for myself. I threw that into the general pot, and my salary is the combined amount I get from all sources.

Mr. WINGO. Which one of the pots, the single-tax pot or the Farmers' National Council pot?

Mr. HAMPTON. I mean the Farmers' National Council. The single tax has meant no money to me; every penny I got went into propaganda work.

Mr. WINGO. You simply get contributions for propaganda work and no salary for that?

Mr. HAMPTON. Not any salary for that. That was a "love" service, if I may so express it—not that the other work is not love service also.

(The resolutions filed by Mr. Hampton are as follows:)

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED FARMERS OF AMERICA IN ANNUAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILL., FEBRUARY 3–5, 1921.

Whereas the Farmers' National Council is serving most effectively the farmers of America in carrying out the reconstructiou program to put agriculture upon a sound economic basis; and

Whereas the Farmers' National Council is best equipped also to serve farmers in national legislative matters not included in the council's reconstruction program: Therefore

Resolved by the United Farmers of America in annual convention assembled, That we affiliate with the Farmers' National Council, indorse its reconstruction program, and contribute annually to the council for carrying out its reconstruction program, and for services to be rendered to the United Farmers of America, at least 25 cents per capita of the membership of the United Farmers of America.

AFFILIATES WITH THE ALL-AMERICAN COOPERATIVE COMMISSION.

Resolved by the National Union, United Farmers of America, in annual conference assembled, Chicago, Ill., February 3–5, 1921, That we affiliate with the All-American Cooperative Commission and contribute annually to the commission, for carrying out its program, at least 10 cents per capita of the dues-paying membership of the United Farmers of America.

OPPOSED TO THE ENFORCED OPEN SHOP.

Resolved by the United Farmers of America in annual convention assembled, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill., February 3–5, 1921, That we are in favor of collective bargaining for farmer and labor alike and are therefore opposed to the enforced open shop.

(The committee thereupon, at 4.30 o'clock p. m., adjourned to to-morrow, Wednesday, February 16, 1921, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

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